

ADIBASI

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CONTENTS

	Page
Simplicity Before	
Impact of Government Programmes on the Social-Cultural Life of Jharsu - A Case Study of Young Displaced	1
Other Tribal People	
Growth of Education Among the Kharia Tribes in the 19th Century	5
Khantia Paradigm	
I.C.D.S. - A Study Experience in the Raibari District of Tribal Bihar	14
Jyotihiyas Khatola & Anil Kumar Patnaik	
Fertility and Contraceptive Patterns among the 'Hoi' in an Industrial Setting	18

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This is a quarterly journal dealing with articles and research findings in various social sciences, developmental strategies and other co-related matters emphasising the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes reviews of books pertaining to the aforementioned subjects.

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Contributions based on Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The articles should be type-written in double space on one side of half foolscap paper. Two copies of the article should be sent. The contributors should also not forget to send their bio-data in a separate sheet along with the article and its brief synopsis. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only twenty-five off-prints of the articles are supplied. Two copies of the books should be sent for purposes of review.

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Impact of Developmental Programmes on the Socio-Cultural Life of Juangs; "A Case Study of Village Khajuribani"

Bimbadhar Behora

Introduction

The Juangs who occupy a very remarkable position among the tribal communities of Orissa drew special attention from various corners due to their primitiveness and aboriginal behaviour. Nonetheless, the tribe holds a unique position as it is found only in this State and therefore, has certain peculiar features of its own. Concern about them and their way of life has increased in recent times, well after the inception of planning processess in India as instrument of change and development. Their cultural contact with the neighbouring non-tribals has not only grown deeper and intense over the time and both official administration as well as non-official agencies operating in the area have tried to establish contact with them in order to induce their respective programmes. Consequently, the Juangs have not been spared of the process of persistence and change. Their status quo is often supported by various elements provided in their traditional culture. Change of whatever order and quality occurring to them can mainly be attributed to culture contact and both intended as well as unintended efforts by the development agencies. In the light of the above, the aim and scope of the present work is confined mainly to the exploration of the magnitude of Socio-cultural changes taking place among the Juangs of Keonjhar due to implementation of various programmes for their development. The fact that Keonjhar happens to be the homeland of Juangs, who claim to be the autochthones of the highland region of the district with Gonesika, the source of river Baitarani as the most important landmark. Whenever change has among them is due to the impact of development programmes. This is the reason why the Juangs

of Keonjhar are chosen to be the sample individuals in this study. Though the tribe spreads over Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, the changes among the Juangs of Dhenkanal, can mainly be attributed to factors other than impact of development forces. This view has been supported by various writings and also corroborated by tribal legends and folk tales. The village Khajuribani has been selected as sample in the study for the reason that it forms a part of the erstwhile Jang Pith area of Keonjhar feudatory state, being inhabited by primitive Juangs. Though most of the villages of former Juang Pith are now included under the Bargarh T. D. Block, it is one of the few villages which comes under Harkandepur Block, a comparatively advanced area. The area of the village touches the boundaries of three Blocks, such as Bargarh, Telkaip and Harkandepur of which only the former constitutes the remote locality of the district. The village is also interestingly located just at the foot-hill of Gonesika Mountain range and the villages are able to get the benefits of forest economy and the low land agriculture. They also come in contact with the neighbouring non-tribal population mainly belonging to "Chisa" Community who greatly influence them in the field of settled agriculture.

Against this backdrop the broad objectives of the present study are—

- (i) to evaluate the developmental programmes and their impact on the life of the Juangs;
- (ii) to locate the various levels of their traditional society where change has taken place and measure the degree by which the different spheres of the tribe have been influenced; and

(iii) to identify the social, cultural and psychological barriers as well as stimulants responsible for either hindering or accelerating the change process and if possible to give necessary suggestions for improving the effectiveness of developmental programmes.

Location and Demography

The village Khajuribani is within the Hunde G. P. of Harichandrapur Block in the district of Keonjhar. It is about 38 Kms. from Keonjhar-gath District Headquarters town and moderate road communication is available up to Janghia, where from a rough but manageable road facility of about 6 Kms. towards west is available to reach the village.

The village consists of three hamlets, namely, Khajuribani, Palengotha and Goudasali with about 80 households having an approximate population of 400. The major communities that live in the village are the Juangs and the Gopals. All the households except 20 Gopala families and the lone Mohanta family are Juangs.

Traditional Features

While examining the process of continuity and change among the Juangs of Khajuribani, it seems worthwhile to give a brief account of the traditional features of the tribe for proper appreciation of the process of change undergoing within the community.

Traditionally, the Juangs are one of the most backward groups of the State, having their own language, customs and practices which they retain even now despite considerable changes which have taken place in their tribal way of life. Being a group dependent upon shifting cultivation and forest based economy, they prefer to settle near a spring or a rivulet mainly at the top or the slopes of the hills. The villages present a scene of scattered single roomed huts surrounded by jackfruit and mango trees due to their intimate relationship with forests and hills. The traditional beliefs and attitudes are shaped by unseen supernatural powers having its deep influence on their Socio-Cultural and religious life. Their preference to community living for social, economic and other purposes has been facilitated by the institution of Majanga which serves the purpose of both village dormitory and a community house.

Change and Development Factors and Levels

The villagers get stimulation for their development by a number of infrastructural facilities available both within and outside the village. There is one Sevaikram School of the State H. & T. W. Department providing education to the Juang children up to upper primary level. A low cost Hostel providing free accommodation and feeding to the tribal students is also attached with the school. For looking after the maternity and childcare, one Anganbadi Centre is operating in the village. Besides, an unit of Sishu Bhawan, Keonjhar with its branch at Somagiri, looks after the health aspects of the villagers. A branch Post Office is also functioning in the village. The villagers get the inputs for development from the developmental units operating in the nearby villages. The V. A. W. Centre at Mansupur is only 3 Kms. from the village. Janghia which is about 6 Kms. away from the village provides education, banking, health, co-operative and marketing facilities as there is a LAMP Co-operative Society, Schools and Colleges, P. H. C., branch of S. B. I. and a weekly market.

One of the most important factor which is responsible for the changed attitude and outlook of the Juangs of Khajuribani, is perhaps the introduction of the colonisation scheme in this village during the initial stages of planned development, i. e. during the sixties. The village was selected for the purpose by State Government for discouraging Podu Cultivation and the villagers were induced by a social worker to descend down the hill to the foot-hill where they are presently residing. Under the colonisation scheme, attempts were made to provide all the basic needs of the tribal people. A Water harvesting structure was constructed by the Government to provide irrigation facilities to the cultivable land of the Juangs. The personal and official influence of the social worker on a few of the leading Juang villagers might have lit. long standing impact on other Juang people. The village has been electrified recently.

The traditional Juang society of Khajuribani has undergone changes of different degrees in various spheres of their life and culture.

Socio-Cultural

The change process has a mixed impact in the life of the villagers in as much as it has its significant effects in their housing structure, settlement pattern, folk dance, health and hygiene but in the field of education, very marginal changes are found. The traditional scattered settlement pattern has been replaced by linear pattern of non-tribal population of neighbouring villages. Five Juang families have pucca houses with cement tile roofing and cement plastering. Most of the families have comparatively big houses with earthen tile roofings. Some have windows while others have skylights in place of windows for ventilation. The cattle and goat sheds of some of the families have been modernised. Only a few houses still retain their traditionality in housing structure. Modern household articles are also possessed by some of them. The Majanga of the village consists of two big pucca buildings and though they still retain some of the traditional Musical instruments, modern articles like big brass utensils and a pair of petromax is kept there. The health consciousness has increased remarkably and they are now more inclined to modern allopathic treatment rather than solely depending on herbs and satisfaction of spirits. They are now unhesitatingly using the drinking water facility of tube-wells, though they have not completely discarded the usefulness of the spring water. Rerelatability changes have also been found in the dress style and ornaments of the villagers. It is now very difficult to distinguish them from that of other non-tribal rural population. The traditional songs and dance has also undergone changes. Being influenced by Hindu culture, they are now reciting "Ghajans" and "Janas" in their Chango dance. Some of the Hindu festivals have also been observed.

Though the villagers appreciate the value of education at their mental level, the rate of illiteracy is still as high as 85 per cent. Even the advanced families are not availing themselves of the educational facility.

Economic

The changes in the sphere of economy is also significant. Though they have websites for shifting cultivation due to want of Poda land and Governmental pressure, they now prefer settled cultivation which emerges as profitable for them. They are now using chemical fertiliser and

pesticides for better yield. Though they habit to take loans for various reasons, it is a significant fact that all the villagers are enrolled as member of the LAMP. Most of the villagers have planted fruit bearing trees like bananas, coconut, Sojana, etc, in their kitchen garden along with mango and jackfruit trees.

Political

In the political area some of the villagers are politically conscious. The rate of participation is very high. The degree of political information and knowledge is also high. They appreciate the modern political system and there is no confrontation among the traditional leaders and the emerging leadership.

Conclusion

The forces of modernization have greatly influenced the socio-cultural and political life of the Juangs of Khajurbari through the implementation of Programmes by various agencies. The process has gone deep into the traditional Socio-cultural fabric of the tribal community and their traditional Society has undergone multifarious changes at Psychological, Intellectual and Social levels. The changes that have occurred at the mental level of the tribe provide the impetus for the changes in other spheres of their society.

At the psychological level, there has been fundamental shift of values, attitudes and expectations. And the modern Juangs now believe that change in nature and Society is both possible and desirable. Change is also marked in their efficacy. They now feel that they have the potentiality to bring about necessary changes in their own society and can adjust themselves to the changing environment by broadening of their loyalties and identifications from immediate primary groups like family, clan and villages to large and more important groupings like class, nation, etc.

At the intellectual level, there has been a tremendous expansion of their knowledge about their environment. The knowledge acquired by the few advanced individuals also get diffused throughout the society without much difficulty. Inspite of all these, poverty in the community still stands as a barrier and a majority of Juangs have no significant intellectual advancement. But there seems to be a sort of mental preparedness amongst most men of the community to accept new ideas unhesitatingly.

At the level of demography, marked improvement in the standard of living is noticed. Changes in their life style coupled with increase in health consciousness and life expectancy, greater occupational and geographical mobility are also found among them.

At the social level, no significant change has occurred so far. But the community has slowly replacing their focus of individual loyalty to family and other primary groups to wider levels of the society. In the cultural sphere the culture of the neighbouring Hindu Society influence them to some extent.

At the economic level, the subsistence forest economy of shifting cultivation has been replaced by modern market agriculture and the scope of their economic activity which was previously confined to the village or community, is now widened enough so as to integrate into the larger economic system.

At the political level though the Juangs have not fully abandoned their traditional political structure, are now participating in various types of democratic political activities at different levels.

Multiple factors are responsible for all these changes at various levels of the Juangs of the village under study. But the important among these are:-

1. The tribal development programmes of the Government with principal emphasis on agriculture, irrigation and income generation schemes,

2. Cultural contact of the villages with the neighbouring non-tribal population, and

3. The geographical mobility of the villagers from the tea-hill to the fertile and wetter valley with provision for cultivable lands and irrigation facility provided by the water harvesting structure.

The geographical mobility with adequate infrastructural facilities is responsible for the increased economic activity and occupational

mobility of the Juangs of Khajurabai which has definitely enhanced the process of development in the village. But the picture of the village can not be said to be the development of the tribe or the village as a whole. Some of the families have definitely improved their lot and the development process may spread from them to other members of the village in the long run but still there are families who are far behind in various aspects of their social and cultural life. Of the three spheres of relationships among the tribal, man and woman, man and nature and man and supernatural, the Juangs of the village have undergone significant changes in the man and relationship. But in other two fields, though minor change is noticed, major part still remain as it was.

It is not correct to say that the few who could get the benefit of Tribal Development Programmes, have advanced in the desired direction. Their level of education is still very low. They subject themselves to economic exploitation by their non-tribals. This suggests that mere agriculture and other productive activities, in isolation of knowledge of money, economy, marketing, banks and trade, etc. will not help right economic growth. To cope with this situation spread of education among the tribe is badly necessary as economic development and educational development are highly inter-connected and can together prove to be the better means for tribal development. In the course of the unexplored history of thousands of years of Juang life the most remarkable feature is their silent suffering in the dark jungles around the Gondalik. Prolonged predicament over the years has taught them to grow an infinite capacity to endure the endless vicissitudes of life in an unfriendly atmosphere. Yet, it has not generated the much needed spark to boost the tribal civilization. They have always preferred to live in isolation and any interference from the outside world has received a cold response. The Governmental and non-Governmental agencies operating in this region have to take this tribal psychology into consideration before embarking on vigorous projects for their meaningful emancipation.

GROWTH OF EDUCATION AMONG THE KANDHA TRIBE IN THE 19th CENTURY

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

The Kandha constituted one of the principal aborigines of India inhabiting the region extending from the eastern limit of Gondwana to Bay of Bengal, and the Mahanadi river on the north to the Godavari on the South.

It is most unfortunate that education could not reach the Kandhas, who were living in the hills and forests. In this connection Willem Adam in his educational report of 1838 writes, "I am aware that much may be, and has been, done to civilise those tribe by promoting and protecting industry, by administering justice between man and man, and by punishing crimes against society. But such moral conquests can be secured only by that knowledge and those habits which education gives, and the means of education have hitherto been very sparingly employed."

Of course there were a good number of difficulties to educate the Kandhas. First, the areas in which the Kandhas lived were by and large inaccessible and the climates of these areas were unhealthy. Further more, there was lack of proper communication. As such influx of the settlers from the more civilized parts who could have educated the Kandhas was not possible. Secondly, the Kandhas were apathetic and indifferent to education. They used to say that they had never known what learning was and could not see why it was necessary for their children. The most absurd argument was that reading would make their eyes fall from their sockets.² Further, the Kandhas used to believe that education would make their boys idle in the fields.³ They were also under the impression that their children, after receiving education,

would not help their illiterate parents in the field work. Even the prospect of employments did not attract the attention of the parents for sending their children to school.⁴ They thought that the real intention of the Government was to take away the children who would after readings it was also seen that in some schools pupils were actually withdrawn in consequence of this mischievous report.⁵ Macdonald observed that the Kandhas somehow developed an impression that education and taxation would go together, and that the establishment of schools was a measure in some way connected with the future assessment of their heads.⁶ Furthermore the Kandhas and their Chiefs were reluctant to see schools established in their localities because they superstitiously feared that such an act might bring calamities for them. The elders used to argue that if for centuries they could live happily without education, why could they not live without it now?⁷ Such were the feelings of the Kandhas towards education. As John Campbell wrote in this connection, "The hardened influences of self-satisfied ignorance had full possession of these old chiefs, and their gloomy superstitions and hatred of knowledge would end only with their lives."⁸ Thus, it was difficult for both the Missionaries and the British Government to introduce education in the Kandha tribe. Till 1848 there was not much progress in the field of education among the Kandhas.

The British officials in charge of the suppression of Marhs and infanticide were the first to take interest in educating the Kandhas. S.C. Macpherson, the Marsh Agent, tried to carry education into the Kandha hills, as early as

possible. He thought that through the moral and religious advancement of the Kandhas by educating them their ancestral faith and usages supporting human sacrifice could come under permanent change. When J. Cadenhead was in charge of managing the Merlin Agency in 1844-45, Macpherson requested him repeatedly to adopt some measures as speedily as possible to establish some schools in the Kandha hills. Cadenhead tried to give some concrete shape to this proposal. But it was of no avail as he had to remain busy in other difficult problems of the Agency.¹²

In 1847, John Campbell took charge of the Merlin Agency from Macpherson. He was very zealous for the establishment of schools in the Kandha hills.¹³ During his tenure a number of steps were taken in the Kandha tracts for the spread of education. In the year 1850-51, seven elementary school were established in the Kandha hills of Ghumar for imparting education to the Kandha childen of those tracts.¹⁴ Those were in Chhina, Klimdy, Kurnigal, Udayagiri, Mahasingi and Ghumar.¹⁵ But the progress of these schools was not satisfactory. The attendance of the students was not encouraging. The parents did not co-operate to send their children to the schools. In some schools, the teachers proved their inability to teach and could not attract the Kandha children to the schools.¹⁶

R. M. Macdonald, the Assistant Agent inspecting the above schools wrote, "Children from the villages would often come, attracted by curiosity, to my tent; as soon as the subject of schools was introduced, they would immediately disappear from the crowd and the Mallikas would gravely proceed to inform me, that, even if they wished it, no school could be established there, as there happened to be no children in that particular Mootah".¹⁷

However, on the recommendation of Macdonald, sanction was granted for the establishment of nine schools on an experimental basis. The appointment of an Inspector on a salary of thirty rupees per mensal was also granted. The salary of the teachers which was hardly five rupees per mensal was raised to ten rupees. An additional allowance of the rupees per mensal was to be given as incentive allowance to teachers whose schools would be reported best.¹⁸ But Macdonald reported that none of the Kandha schools which had been established hitherto

were working due to the want of supervisio and inidiquity of qualified masters. Therefor, he suggested that some purely Oriya schools which had comparatively less difficulties, might be converted to mixed schools for Oriya and Kandhas. He made this suggestion on consideration of the benefit that would accrue on the fact of Oriya and Kandha boys reading together in the same school. The former might influence the latter in the interest of the general welfare of the society. He also hoped that the students, after completion of their education from such schools, would be competent enough to become teachers with the knowledge of the Kandha language and would be able to teach better to the Kandha students of the hill areas.¹⁹ How ever, the Oriya schools in plains which henceforth served as mixed schools for Oriya as well as Kandha students could not fulfil the expectation. The Oriya did not like to send their children to such schools fear they might be spoiled by coming in contact with the Kandha children. The Kandhas on the other hand were apathetic towards allowing their children to join these mixed schools.²⁰

Meanwhile the famous Educational Dispatch of 1854 (Wood's Dispatch) gave encouragement to private enterprise for running schools.²¹ Whatever might be the utilitarian aspect of Wood's Dispatch, the people of Orissa along with the Kandhas received no immediate benefits from it.²²

By 1855-56, eleven schools had been working in the hill tracts of Ganjam. However, compared to previous years, the progress made in these schools was somewhat good. Earlie many of the Mallikas or Hill Chiefs refused to permit their children to attend the schools. Later on, the guardians, after permitting the names of their children to be entered in the schools register, withdraw their names on the plea that such children had been suddenly afflicted with various diseases. At least that is what they told the authorities. After much persuasion one of the father agreed to permit his son to attend school on the tacit understanding that his name should not be recorded in the school's register. However, two of them consented unconditionally. But it was during 1855-56 that some resenting Hill Chiefs were found to have come voluntarily with a request to establish schools in their villages. One of them even volunteered to send his daughters to school. This change in the atti-

ments of the Hill Chiefs tended to show that a desire for education was gradually kindling in the Kandha tracts.²⁸

Macdonald, the Assistant Agent, had previously recommended the establishment of a small model school at Russelkonda, in which the teachers of the existing schools were to receive training for developing the modes of teaching. He had also recommended that a number of Kandha youths might be educated to be employed in the teaching cadre in question. Further, he proposed to grant a small monthly allowance for the maintenance of a teacher and a limited number of pupils at his Headquarters at Russelkonda. Such pupils might be given a course of reading, writing, arithmetic and drill. And the most intelligent of them should, at the expiration of a fixed period of probation, be rewarded with a post in the Sibbundes or in the Hill Police. Furthermore, the most promising pupils from the other schools should be drafted from time to time into the school at Russelkonda, to compete for the vacant situations. Thus the chance of getting an employment would give a stimulus to the parents for sending their children to school. On the basis of Macdonald's recommendation a Training School for Teachers was established at Russelkonda. But initially his recommendation did not prove successful. No prospect of employment induced the parents to part with their children.²⁹

In spite of the failure to achieve the desired results, the Missionaries' work for the spread of education in the Kandha tracts deserves admiration. With the patronage of the Baptist Missionaries a few Methodist schools were opened to rehabilitate the rescued Marahs.³⁰ In this regard the efforts of the Missionaries, namely Mr. and Mrs. Stubbs, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson and Mr. and Mrs. Buckley, were the most commendable.³¹ The Missionaries also published some school books written in Kui language for the Kandha children.³² Many of the rescued Marahs were educated in Mission Schools at Barhampur, Cuttack and Balasore.³³ The Missionaries received rupees three from the Government for each Marah child for their maintenance.³⁴ However, compared to the plain area, the number of Missionary schools in Kandha tracts was very few.

The Roman Catholics too tried to educate the children of the Kandha tracts of Orissa. They set up a school where education was provided to the rescued orphaned and poor children of the Kandha hills.

In 1853-54, the progress of education was quite encouraging in the hill tracts of Ganjam. There were seventeen schools in place like Kurnungiya, Udayagiri, Nuagun, Tundigoda, Kainjor, Chakagedi, Brahmapad, Posers, Donga, Ghatalgoda, Neddigoda, Godapar, Subarnagiri, Purisageda, Shankarshok, Gudrikia and Saranggoda. Besides, there was also a Methodist school at Upperbhago of the hill tracts of Ganjam, which was established on the 1st February 1858. The attendance in these schools was quite heartening.³⁵ Teaching was imparted mainly in Oriya, History, Geography, Mathematics, Astronomy and English were the subjects taught to the students.³⁶ But the course of studies was found to be difficult for the Kandha students. That was because they could not grasp either grammar or even History and Geography, what to speak of the didactic portions of the 'Astro-Deeksh' and Sutton's theory of Astronomy.³⁷

In 1852, the Government changed the policy on the venue of the hill schools. Places of easier reach were selected for the purpose. Such schools became popular in Kandha tracts and the number of students in those schools increased. Further, the standard of education in those schools improved due to the improvement in teaching and effectiveness of supervision.³⁸ Now teachers were appointed from among those who received training from the Teachers' Training School at Russelkonda.³⁹

In 1853, the Madras Government passed an Act for the better management of the schools.⁴⁰ But this Act did not help in the improvement of the school system.⁴¹ In 1855, particularly in the Kandha tracts of Ganjam, the state of education came to face rapid deterioration. There was a drastic fall in the attendance of the Kandha students in those hill schools. And it was ascribed to the frequent Kandha risings of that year. To improve the situation, the Government appointed a School Superintendent in 1856 for all the hill schools with a monthly salary of thirty rupees for the supervision of teaching and learning in these schools. This measure of the Government proved somewhat effective. The attendance at the hill schools considerably improved. Of course behind it lay the proper vigilance of the superintendent of the hill schools.⁴²

During this time some changes were made. The school at Upperbhago was closed down and some establishment was transferred to Purushottampur. A school was also opened at

Rayegada in Jajpur, Bhamindia under the Gram Kr-aid rates. To this school a teacher was sent from Ganjam.³⁵ By 1857 there were thirteen schools in Ghumur and Chhina Kandi with 475 pupils on his rolls. An examination conducted by School Inspector H. B. G. pg was attended by 363 pupils.³⁶ At the same time the Kandha people were quite illiterate to education and the condition of the schools was not satisfactory. The Madras Government brought this fact to the "governor" in 1867 in the following words:

The condition of the schools cannot, the Government regret to say be considered satisfactory but very considerable efforts must necessarily be made for the greater facility that is sure to be procured competent Masters in this part of the country and for the infinite loss entailed by an uncivilized population to the advancement of education. In respect of most of these schools, there is the same story of incompetency or idle Masters, regular attendance, false returns of attendance, and want of efficient superintendence.

In 1868, two new schools were opened in the Kandha blocks of Ganjam, one at Keotigam and the other at Gudrigam. But in every school the attendance was irregular and there was hardly a boy who was found to have taken active interest in his work. In that year the School Inspector H. B. Morris remarked that the growth of education in the hills blocks of Ganjam was highly unsatisfactory. The reasons behind it could be ascribed to the high standard of education prescribed for the schools, the want of efficient supervision, the total indifference of the people to education, and the inefficiency of the Masters. The School Inspector suggested that the schools should be placed under the direct supervision of the European Officer stationed on the hills that the course of instruction should be as simple as possible that it should be adapted to what the Masters were competent to teach namely reading, writing and the elements of Arithmetic. In addition to this he also suggested an increase in the pay of the Masters and the reformation of a Normal Class & Ruskandia. As for his suggestion of his ways to R. R. the Junior Assistant Agent in charge of the "High Priest of the Schools": "Pointing out the lack of power of his house to run his schools, he made the following remark: 'It seems to me unreasonable to expect a school to be well managed or in a case, well run in the house of

The Madras Government considering the above recommendation took some positive steps to improve the condition of education in the Kandha blocks, particularly to attract Kandha students to the schools, books and salaries were supplied to them and scholarships were instituted.³⁷ In this meant no one European official, J. M. Smith wrote a Kandha Hand book of the Kandha language.³⁸ But it failed on its total failure of some other works viz. T. W. H. Bay's Kandha Hand Book & P. Frys's Tables in the Kandha language and J. A. Goodrich's Vocabulary.³⁹ The book of Smith was written in Roman script partly because the Kandha had no written script and partly because it would be more useful if any English was written in the language.⁴⁰ The Kandha or Kandha Practical Hand book in the Kandha language was financed by the Madras Government. Two hundred forty copies of it were printed in 1875 at a total cost of one hundred twenty seven rupees.⁴¹ But as though the universal desirability of a P. Free & sufficient quantity of school books in the Kandha language had already been prefigured.⁴² All these books not only educated the Kandha students, but also enlightened the teachers and the British Officials in the matter of teaching their language.

The Government also tried to induce all European officials residing in the Malibha to qualify themselves in the Kandha language. Ramaia, the Beldiude Magistrate was awarded five hundred rupees for getting the Kandha language examination.⁴³ The Government of India by its order No. 586 dated on 26th May 1874 had also fixed a reward of 500 rupees to an European and 250 rupees to a Native official who could pass a suitable colloquy & examination in that language.⁴⁴ That was because the acquisition of a thorough knowledge on the part of an educated official rendered other officers of the Kandha area of the hill districts more capable of their duties.⁴⁵ It is the sole reason that the written form of Kandha people Kandha Hand Books and Frys's Kandha manual published by B. J. H. Moore immensely increased popularity of the native language. Furthermore the Government of that school situated in the Kandha language was to be ordered for giving instruction to Kandha people in the speech of their own language.⁴⁶

That obviously there was a progress of education in the Kandha blocks though it was quite slow. Referring to the working of schools

in the Kandha areas, C. F. Mad Cart - 52 - A Sircar Agent in Ganjam, in his report of 1881 has wrote in a very interesting story of these schools at least since 1878, there are no cause for despondency in regard to the future prospects of the progress made had not been by leaps and bounds, at any rate they have in no case fallen back.²⁰ By 31st March, 1882, there were fifteen hill schools in Ghumsar and Chhura Kandha Mitala. In these schools the attendance of Kandha students was 257, out of which 250 were boys and 7 girls.²¹ In order to popularise education among the Kandhas, games were also introduced in their schools. This led to a remarkable increase in attendance.²² The Government noticed that not only the Kandhas but also the Kandha Chhuras like the patios and Bissos were taking keen interest in education and there was a growing demand for schools in Kandha villages.²³ Further some of the Kandhas who were educated in the hill schools became teachers.²⁴ By 1881, there were four Kandhas among the teaching staff of the hill schools.²⁵ In the hill school of Udevagin the Headmaster was a Kandha. He was Subudu Mallik.²⁶ Another improvement was the interest of the Kandha girls in getting education. In this connection the Special Assistant Agent in Ganjam reported his own experience thus, "The Kandha girls were proud of what they had learnt, crowding round me, whereas they are generally shy, to show me the specimens of their handwork."²⁷ Furthermore, decided improvements in personal cleanliness, such as wearing fashionable clothes purchased from the plains, was found among the Kandhas due to the impact of education.

When this was the progress of education in the hill tracts of Ganjam, very little was achieved in Kandhamal in this respect. As late as 1888, no serious steps were taken there for the improvement of education. When Dinabandhu Patnaik joined there as Tahsildar he felt the necessity of spreading education amongst the local people and got a school started at Bishnupur, the then Headquarters of the Tehsil, at an expenditure of thirty rupees per month.²⁸ Even then the people of the locality were indifferent to getting their children educated. Dinabandhu Patnaik worked hard to bring home the utility and benefit of education to the people and succeeded in getting 65 boys and 15 girls to join the school. He also found that number of boys were too poor and it was

difficult for them to go to a daily school regularly. So, Dinabandhu Patnaik made a further attempt that succeeded in enlisted the sympathy of several general local officers and other gentry in getting a contribution amounting to eighty-three rupees for the purpose.²⁹ It was no doubt a good beginning for the future growth of education among the Kandhas of Kandhamal. Gradually they evinced a desire to educate themselves through schools.³⁰ In this context, T. E. Rauenshaw the Commissioner of Orissa in 1872-73, reported "A remarkable move in relation to education has been made among the wild tribes of Kandha hills. These people have submitted of their own wish, and indeed of their own motion, to a tax on liquor shop, the proceeds of which are devoted to the establishment of schools. The tax has been realised without difficulty, and a number of schools have been built and are maintained by the people themselves."³¹ However, by the end of the twentieth century, in the Kandhamal there were twelve Primary Schools, with Kandha teachers exclusively for the benefit of the Kandhas. But the progress was not satisfactory, mainly for the fact that the Kandha children were taught by means of an Orissa Primer, which they could not understand, as they spoke only the Kandha dialect.³²

In Jeypore Estate, the growth of education among the Kandhas was very slow. By 1888 there was not even a single school in the whole of the Viragapalem Agency which included the Jeypore Estate. Carmichael then wrote, "The school we set a foot at the town of Jeypore on our first entering the country three years ago, met with no success whatever, and after struggling for some time with neglect and the climate, the master came down and shortly afterwards died."³³ This school was not revived for some years, and a fresh beginning was made for opening a school at Gunupur. Thus due to the absence of schools, the Kandha children of Jeypore Estate were deprived of education. By 1895-96, however, the condition had already been improved and there were 120 schools in the Agency under the charge of the Assistant Agents at Karpur and Parapat, with 2581 pupils. Thus the establishment of schools enabled the Kandha children to go in for education, though quite late. But still the progress was slow compared to that of Ganjam district.

Thus due to the sincere efforts of some British officials and Missionaries the Kandhas were somehow educated. Of course it was very little compared to that of the people of the plain areas. Initially the Kandhas were not aptetic and indifferent to education due to their superstitious beliefs against learning. But when the Marthi Agency was created to suppress human sacrifice and infanticide, then the spread of education in the Kandha tribes became one of the prime objectives of the

Government. Hill schools were opened and parents were persuaded by the Government to send their children to those schools. Missionaries too worked hard to enlighten the Kandha children. Gradually the Kandhas could understand the utility of learning. Being enlightened under the fold of education, the Kandhas improved their social behaviour and habits. Subsequently they were no more to be depicted as 'stupid and ignorant'.

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I. C. D. S. : A STUDY EXPERIENCE IN THE RANCHI DISTRICT OF TRIBAL BIHAR

Nalakantha Panigrahi

Development as a complex whole has been traditionally identified and interpreted with many indices by scholars. Passing through a historical experience it aims to bring high productivity, high income, high saving, high investment, abolishing social evils viz. literacy, unemployment, under nutrition, high fertility and mortality rates, ensuring self sufficiency to individual households and communities. Tribal Development in India is one of such strategies provided through constitutional yardsticks. Since independence, through different approaches viz. Community Development Programmes, Tribal Development Sub-Plans, Tribal Development Co-operative Corporations (TDCC), Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) and schemes like AREGP, RLEGP, SFDA, MFDA, DPAP etc., the planners, administrators, academics, political thinkers, have been attempting to prepare and implement action plans in order that useful and results can be effectively achieved.

There is view among many experts, that mostly non-tribal leaders and administrators think on tribal development and have been formulating plans, projects without considering the local ethno-social and the political economy of the tribes. They also view that any process of development succeeds only when decision makers formulate projects with a view to accentuate peoples' participation during implementation (Purush: 1988; Pathy: 1988). Likewise, it has also been recognised that, development for human society not confined simply with militant, either for its achievement, particularly in third world countries, the significance of non material bases are of high priority. Max Weber (1982)

view on the relation between protestantism and the emergence of Capitalism has established the importance of such non-material base (e.g. religion) in stimulating and sustaining the development process.

Of many developmental schemes implemented so far, Child Welfare Programmes initiated in 1954 and later in 1975 renamed as Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS) as a preventive protective and promotive strategy is considered the most effective programme.

STUDY UNIVERSE

Method

The present study adopted technique of in-depth observation on the target beneficiaries of I.C.D.S. in the tribal area of Ranchi in Chhotanegpur plateau of Bihar State. Observations were primarily made on randomly selected focus groups who were essentially tribal women.

Besides this, the block office I.C.D.S. Centres, Community Development Project Officers (CDPOs), Supervisors, Anganwadi workers, were also considered for both individual and group interviews. Bihar Tribal Research Institute (BTRI) of Ranchi was consulted for secondary references.

For the purpose of the present study three villages of Angade Project and two villages of Namikura Project were selected and in each village two focus groups, each comprising of ten to fifteen members across two age brackets (15 to 30 and 31 to 45 approximately) were selected at random for the observations. All the villages are located in and around 30 Km. of Ranchi Town.

I.C.D.S. aims at delivering a package of services such as, supplementary nutrition, immunization, periodic health check-up of both children and mothers, health and nutrition education and non-formal pre-school education in an integrated manner to children of below 6 years, and to expectant and nursing mothers. With an aim to see the achievement of these objectives by I.C.D.S. programmes so far implemented in some of the tribal regions of Bihar of India, the following objectives of the present study were formulated.

They were viz:

- (i) to find out the prevalent knowledge primarily based on traditional practices pertaining to mother and child care, among the community members in the study regions.
- (ii) to gather peoples attitude towards I.C.D.S. in general and its various programmes in particular.
- (iii) to highlight the existing level of community participation and people's expectation on I.C.D.S. programmes.

THE PEOPLE : A ETHNO-SOCIAL PROFILE

Chotanagpur Plateau includes the districts of Dumka (Santhal Pargana), Ranchi, Palamu, Giria, Singhbhum and consists of three rugged plateau and regions of unevenness. Since a few decades, this plateau which was covered with dense forest and infested with wild animals has been affected by multifaceted economic development in the form of mines, industry etc. Such indiscriminate exploitation of resources brought many social, nutritional and socio-economic problems to the local tribes. The population distribution as per 1981 census of all 13 project districts basically lies in the tribal regions of Bihar, share 26.09 per cent of Scheduled Tribes 13.77 per cent of Scheduled Castes. The study districts of Ranchi share 47.46 percent of tribes, 6.38 per cent of Scheduled Castes. Ten different major tribes are found in this region, which share 92 per cent of the total tribal population of Bihar. They are viz. Santhal, Oraon, Mundas, Ho, Khumar, Lohar, Kharia, Bhumi, Gond and Munda. Numerically as well as literally Santhals, Oraons and Mundas dominate the major tribal areas. There are some tribes insignificant both in population and area, such as Chero, Bawali, Gondu, Khoari, Paharia and Chick Bawali. The occupational distribution of the tribal population

as per 1981 show that, only 2 percent of the total tribal strength are engaged in the industrial and related productive work. The State though rich with minerals and ores, the proportion of tribes engaged in mining and quarrying operations is also negligible.

The socio-cultural composition and the political economy of the tribes of this region has been largely affected by the onset of modernisation. However, the sense of ethnicity significantly expressed through their dialect, festivals and folk culture, but due to the migratory forces its degree of cohesion, initially found varying from community to community. The village youth dormitory is found performing some of its social obligations like, treating the family and village guests, rendering labour during agricultural operations, participating in various communal activities viz. ceremonies, rituals, educational, economic and many other public functions. The tribes believe that, natural objects exercise a rewarding influence on their life for which they perform periodic prayers and offerings. The pregnant women both in their pre-and post-delivery period observe certain restrictions and taboos in their day to day life. The old experienced women of the community always attend the mothers and cuts the umbilical cord of the child with a bamboo knife. The practice of purificatory baths are also observed by the mother at different stages with an aim to keep herself and the child free from infections. On the whole it can be said that certain factors like cultural contact with the others, industrialisation, deforestation, educational development, welfare activities have brought changes in both material and non-material culture of this tribal community. Besides, the communication facilities and the missionary activities could no more keep them in an isolated state.

DISCUSSION

The first objective aims at finding the traditional knowledge, skill and techniques of the people to nourish mother, child and its progenies in their day to day life. The long discussions with older groups particularly among females, shows the prevalence of such practices and the existence of village mid-wife (dai) system. Earlier and large almost all village females were performing this role. They are named differently in different communities. Starting from the conception till the birth of a child they are in constant touch for giving

educative guidelines to the mothers. Even in post-delivery period they are taking personal care of the little baby and the mother. Their knowledge was basically based on practical experiences handed over from one generation to another. Later on, the State tried to adopt such 'other' system as a support to the public health organisation. The functioning of Anganwadi workers health visitors, though have restricted their working areas, but 'other' as an institution is still maintaining its functional identity and couldn't totally be undermined and/or absorbed by the modern health system. The modern health strategies viz, the family welfare, immunisation, health and nutrition education, health check up, referral services to each expectant and nursing mothers belonging to vulnerable groups, though has employed all red outsiders, but many a time found unacceptable to the community. The system though needed help from few 'other' by absorbing them at nominal prices, but lacked in providing skill training in respect of modern health strategies. So, the traditional skill and knowledge on mother child care in both pre and post-natal periods more or less found co-existent side by side with the modern system. In many cases people are found adopting ethnomedicine for delivery treatments, and child care. Reasons like - non-availability, non-capability and ignorance played important role, but their long standing experiences on the ethnomedicinal and traditional practices seems more scientific for their adherence to traditional, rudimentary treatment methods.

The second objective of this paper is to know people's attitude towards I.C.D.S. in general and to different programmes in particular. Some of the major C.D.S. programmes in principle has been framed such as non-formal pre-school education, primary health care for both mother and child in pre-post natal period, assisting public health centres for immunisation campaigning, health check up of both nursing mother and child, health and nutrition education, etc. Besides, Anganwadi workers are required to conduct community surveys, listing beneficiaries, organising and conducting functional literacy classes, maintaining registers, interacting with other village association for better implementation of the scheme.

From the interviews it was found out that most of the community members have little knowledge about the total activities and/or programmes of I.C.D.S. and on its significance. For example: provision of supplementary

nutrition like 'khela' has been felt as if as cushion for the poor and hungry people. A few also think it as a method to attract the children to the centres. As illiteracy is a part of their life the reading of writing and reading materials has also less significance. So, the audio writings, visual displays, audio-video materials has greater significance, but, the non availability both at block and village level centres affects negatively on people's acceptance of different I.C.D.S. components. The study also shows that the deviations of prescribed rules and regulations while implementing I.C.D.S. programmes are found more with the concerned officials, not been rightly pointed out by the people. In the process, because of the low level of knowledge on different programmes many people at large have developed an attitude of detachment and sceptic towards C.D.S. programmes.

Thirdly an analysis has been made on community participation in I.C.D.S. programmes. Community participation is very essential for the success of this programme because it helps in focusing a sense of belongingness, and provides an opportunity to the local people in controlling their own development. The degree of community participation always depends on the objectives of the programme. When the objectives are viewed as a way of achieving concrete specific and immediate targets, the people are used as an instrument in the process, but when the target is a means of achieving some higher and long term objectives meant for self-help and tool for sustainability the people are used as a part of the process and of means. It is admitted that, there is a gap on the conceptualisation of community participation by the socio scientists, policy makers and field workers. Apart from this, the expected level of community participation is found lagging behind because of the gap between the expectations and achievements. However, resource constraints largely affects the level of community participation, has to be given due importance.

Community participation in I.C.D.S. in general and its different programmes in particular can be seen at different areas of scheme implementation. It can broadly be divided into three major spheres viz. Organisational, Functional and Emotional. From this angle a few example can be sighted from our study experience. From the beginning one has to agree to implementation of I.C.D.S. has shown States concern for people's welfare and needs

support from its people. Likewise, implementation of the scheme shows people's acceptance their participation in the process, from whom the State wants to fulfil certain responsibility. However, the concept of 'welfare' and 'people's participation' varies to degree and largely dependent on each other.

People's participation at the organisational level of I.C.D.S. functioning has shown a positive attitude. It proves when the community provided their bar houses to run the centres, allowing community members to work as Anganwadi Worker and Local Assistant even in a nominal price. It is found that, the scheme is failing in motivating the people for their further participation, and the implementors are unable to involve themselves personally to the expected level.

At functional level the poor quality of the food materials, discontinuity in its supply and

almost no supply of other necessary infrastructures particularly of the communication materials are some of the discouraging factors for people participation. Apart from this, shortage an irregular supply of food materials to the block centre, its transportation problem from the block to the village centres, want of fuel for food preparation, poor and irregular payment of Anganwadi Workers and of local assistants have also affected the involvement of both people and the implementors. The poor involvement is been beneficial and of the organisations that been directly affecting to the functional utility of the scheme. In this process we see a mental alienation of the field level workers than sometimes they are physically involved in the programme implementation. It also affect the villagers for sending their children to the centre listening to the advices of the Anganwadi workers, reducing their physical co-operation in running the centre and the like.

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

From the above discussion based on field experience, a few concluding remark can be made. The suggestions made by various authors and published by Boas (1985), Tondon (1988) Sharma (1987), Panda et al 1990 on the problems and prospects of I.C.D.S. are also note-worthy. A few more can be added to the store of present knowledge.

The motivation process for beneficiary awareness on I.C.D.S. Implementation needs a qualitative change and communication support - the form of audio and visual methods based on the cultural needs of the community should be constructed and provided to the grassroots level I.C.D.S. centres.

Motivational issues in the form of training, workshop, discussion and exchanging ideas to the implementors should be given importance on priority basis.

Resources management should be dynamic, quantitatively sufficient enough and qualitatively acceptable one in satisfying the community.

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[This paper has been based upon the field experience of the author, gathered as a research team member in the "Communications Baseline Study With Special reference to Strengthen I.C.D.S. Project in Bihar" With World Bank Assistance undertaken by D.I.P.S. Communication Centre, Bhubaneswar]

Fertility and Contraceptive Patterns among the "HO" in an Industrial Setting

Jyotirmayee Kanungo
and
Anita Kumar Pattnaik

India's colossal population growth is the most important threat to the National Development. So fertility which is a complex process and an instrument of population increase, occupies a central position in "population study". Fertility though is a biological process is influenced by social, cultural, economic and environmental factors. In the country like India, fertility preferences of the different population groups differ because of ecological, socio-cultural, ethnic diversities and complexities. But despite of all these diversities, actual changes in fertility are determined by the changes in the behaviour as suggested in the proximate determinants model and one of which is "contraceptive use and effectiveness". India is the first country to launch "Family Planning Programme" on Government level since 1952.

In India, Odisha is a State which comprises people of various religious and ethnic groups, where modernisation and industrialisation are more recent and people are traditional in nature. Keeping in view the India's Population Problem, the present paper purposed to highlight the fertility pattern and acceptance of contraceptives of a tribal community; the "Ho's" not leading a traditional forest life but working in the industry the "Kalinga Iron Works" in Keonjhar district of Odisha.

The Community under study

One of the most important mineral based industry is the "Kalinga Iron Works", Berhampur (in Keonjhar district) which is situated 320 Kms. far from Bhubaneswar the Capital City of Odisha. This Tribal community the "Ho's" working in this

industry live around the plant in small clusters. These clusters are called "hutings". The hutings which are included in this study are Utam Singh Hating, Chhatra Hating, Dama Hating, Tapas Hating, Mandi Hating, Ashram School Hating and Banapeda Hating, in Makarabeda area of Berhampur Municipality. Among the different principal tribes, Ho's are numerically large in Keonjhar district as well as in Jharsuguda. Unlike their counterparts living in the forest area, they earn their livelihood mainly depending on the industry where they work as labourer. They supplement their income by casual labour (where both men and women work) and also from forest collection. These people though attend the temples and observe the Hindu festivals still have not left their traditional ways of worshipping of spirits, treating of aches by elders using herbs and roots in the traditional way. In spite of being exposed to industrialisation 49.18 per cent males and 80.73 per cent females are literate (belonging to all age-groups during the study period January 1980 to March, 1980). But they are more modernized in their dress pattern and day to day life pattern.

Material and Method

The study has been carried out in the seven hutings (as mentioned earlier) including 250 couples and at least one from each family is working in the plant. All of them work in the plant as labourer either on permanent basis or on temporary basis. The census method involving house to house survey was used and the study extended from January 1980 to March 1980.

The data collection was done using the schedule and by interviewing the respondents directly through house-to-house survey. The respondents were invariably the wives but sometimes the husbands were also consulted at the time of need. The demographic profile of the wives have been taken into consideration for the purpose of this study. The age of the wife has been considered as the important basis of child bearing of the data as she is the most important reproductive unit. The eligible women were classified into 4 groups (belonging 15 to 45 years). Tubectomy and vasectomy have been considered together as sterilization. After collection of information the data was compiled, tabulated and analysed. The data was subjected to different statistical methods to assess the fertility pattern and use of contraceptives according to the age of the wife.

Result and Discussion

In the 280 households 248 couples were eligible for the study of reproductive performance ever married women living with husbands and have at least one live birth. The reproductive performance of these couples according to the age of the wives has been shown in the Table No. 1. In total the average conception per woman is 3.34, number of children born 3.28, but average number children survived at the time of survey was 2.97 or 3. The average number of children died per woman is 0.28 and reproductive wastage by abortion is only 0.06 which is very negligible. Fertility pattern of the women belonging to different age groups shows decrease in number of conceptions, live births, surviving children and reproductive wastage in the younger age groups with some deviation in the age groups '35 to 44 years and 45 years and above'. This is probably due to difference in sample size. Only 20 women belonged to the age group 35 years and above. Highest percentage (23.11) of live children born within two years of marriage and average gap between the births vary between 2-3 years. The fertility pattern of the women depends on the age at their marriage. The average fertility rates varies as 3.67, 3.82, 3.81, 3.91, 2.76, 2.37 with the increase of age at marriage to below 13 years, 13 to 16 years, 16 to 18 years, 18-21 years, and 22 to 34 years respectively. The birth performance of these women is not free from the nature of their social status. Among the respondents 35.54 per cent are literate, and their average fertility rate is 3.64. The other (14.48 per cent) women who are literate have

given birth to 1.6 children in average. Among the literate the average fertility rate decreases with the increase of educational level as 1.82 and 1.37 having lower Primary and Upper primary education. It is matter of concern that no woman has middle school education.

The birth performance of the women who have already passed 40 years can throw light on the future population growth as they have completed their reproductive span (table deviation may be found) and their children will take part in reproduction. The average fertility rate of these women is 4.2 (double of our family planning target). The net reproductive index (NRI) is 2.62 where as our National target is to attain one, by the end of this century. But counting the number of children below 5 years, the child woman ratio is found to be 1.07 indicating decrease of fertility rate within the last five years and decrease in population growth rate after few years.

Regarding the family planning acceptance (shown in table No.-2) out of 248 couples only 14.06 per cent are the acceptors. But the eldest age group no body has accepted any one of the methods. Out of 229 eligible couples in the age group (15-35 years) only 35 couples are acceptors and 31 of them undergone sterilization (12 (34.3 per cent) with vasectomy and 23 (65.7 per cent) with tubal ligation. The couple protection rate is only 18.3 per cent, 28.38 per cent of eligible couples under 25 years of age 12.10 per cent of those aged 25 to 34 years and only 4.69 per cent of those aged 35 years or more are sterilized. This shows maximum coverage of under 25 years olds with sterilization and lowest among the highest age group. None of the couples having less than two living children accepted sterilization. It is observed that none of them have accepted spacing method. The family planning coverage in this area is low in comparison to the National and State figures and the entire performance is based on sterilization, with significantly more acceptance of female sterilization (almost double) than the males. The sterilization is the only method accepted because of financial incentives given to both motivators and acceptors of sterilization, which is also disproportionately higher than the incentive for acceptance of IUD while the other spacing methods carry no incentive.

TABLE No. 1
Reproductive History of the Women According to the Present Age of Wife

Percentage of the wife (in 4 Yrs.) and No. of women	Average No. of conception	Average No. of children born	Average No. of children deed	Average No. of children surviving	Reproduction wastage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Below 25 (74)	1.96	1.62	0.92	1.80	0.04
25 to 34 (91)	3.18	3.12	0.98	3.03	0.08
35 to 44 (86)	5.04	4.89	0.78	4.13	0.16
45 years and above (20)	4.10	3.95	0.85	3.30	0.15
Total	3.34	3.26	0.98	2.97	0.08

TABLE No. 2
Distribution of Couples by Acceptance of Family Planning Methods According to Present Age of Wife.

Age group in years	Non-acceptors in per cent	Acceptors (Sterilization)		Total acceptors
		Husband	Wife	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Below 25 Yrs.	71.82 (53)	12.16 (9)	16.22 (12)	28.38 (21)
25 to 34 Yrs.	87.90 (69)	2.30 (2)	8.80 (6)	12.10 (11)
35 to 44 Yrs.	96.31 (81)	--	4.88 (3)	4.09 (3)
45 Yrs. and above	100.00 (20)	--	--	--
Total	85.94 (214)	4.82 (12)	9.24 (23)	14.06 (35)

Conclusion

The survey, among the *Hos* living in Mankambadi and working in the industry highlights some changes among them than their counterparts living in the forest. These people though retain some of their traditional practices, are also very much influenced by their co-workers in the industry. Particularly in their fertility pattern though fertility rate is more than the National target, the younger groups have less children showing the increase of awareness among them through education and by leading industrial life. Average child mortality rate is less which has negative impact on fertility performance. The NRI is more than the National target, which is to be reduced. The study also reveals low family planning coverage of 14.0% per cent and the only family planning service reaching these people is "sterilization", with no spacing methods in evidence. The financial benefit for both the motivator and the acceptor is the cause of popularity of sterilization, particularly vasectomy which has not much influence in bringing down the birth rate. Very young couples are accepting sterilization instead of spacing method, which may has the bad effect in future life.

Thus, in this area an evident need for the efforts to be increased was felt for both quantitative as well as qualitative improvements in

family planning performances. Special care should be taken to increase the age at marriage and the educational level of people; particularly of the women. The present trend of contraceptive practice cannot be expected to influence the birth rate since all the efforts seem to be concentrated on sterilization only. More eligible couples having 4 to 5 children are still in the risk of producing more. Excessive emphasis on temporal method of contraceptives which are unlikely to find favour amongst the majority of couples, diverts attention from the urgent task family size. It is therefore necessary to lay adequate emphasis on the spacing methods by the family planning workers instead of sterilization.

This is a micro study in comparison to vast dimensions of the National Family Welfare Programme which has many targets to attain by 2000 A. D., to promote the quality of the population by reducing the quantity. The findings may not form the basis of generalization, but the findings point the need of giving education and employment to the tribal people to change their attitudes towards different spheres of life and adequate care should be taken by the Family Planning Workers to increase the small family size norm; not by motivating for sterilization but by popularizing birth spacing methods.

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OBITUARY

Dr. KULAMANI MOHAPATRA was born in September 13, 1927 in the village Bartala in Cuttack district of Orissa. He came from a conventional and respectable Brahman family and educated to strict disciplined. But basically he was very independent minded person with revolutionary approaches.

He joined Ravenshaw College in the year 1944 as a student of Arts faculty and took active part in the Independence Movement contrary to his father's expectations and helped in building various State Level Student Organizations and it was due to his best efforts the Student Congress could come up in Orissa between the year 1944 and 1947.

He was basically a social worker and his character and personality were greatly influenced by the eminent leaders, like Shri Jaye Prakash Narayan, Shri Ram Manohar Lohia, Shri Nabakrushna Choudhury and Smt. Mala Devi Choudhury. He developed in him an insight towards the problems of downtrodden and commitment to serve for their upliftment. He took active part in social movements in Orissa by joining Socialist Party and fought for the Assembly Election in the year 1952.

In addition to his career as a social worker he achieved academic degrees. Apart from doing M. A. in English, he obtained the Post-Graduate degree in Anthropology and later was awarded Ph. D. degree in Sociology.

He joined the State Government Service in the year 1959 as a Research Officer in Tribal Research Bureau (Presently Tribal and Harijan Research-and-Training Institute), Government of Orissa and became a Deputy Director. He retired from service on attaining the age of superannuation in the year 1985. He was the head of the office for quite sometime. During his tenure he had successfully guided several Research Projects undertaken by the Institute. He had published a number of research articles and edited several research report to his credit. He was also co-editor of ADIBASI, the quarterly journal of the Institute. After leaving the Institute, he never idled away, rather, continued his active efforts for the cause of poorer sections of the society. Besides, he continued his research studies in the field of social change. He became the President of Utkal Sarvodaya Mandal in the year 1988. Apart from being a Researcher, he was a capable administrator, too. He was very popular among the staff members, and for his pleasant personality, good humour, sympathetic approach and helpfulness. He was loved and respected by one and all in the Institute. He was also co-editor of the English journal 'Vigil' founded by Acharya Kripalani.

His sad demise on August 20, 1992 is a great loss to many of those who are fighting for the cause of downtrodden and weaker sections of the society. As an eminent scholar, orator, committed social worker, perceptive thinker, devoted writer, man of principle and freedom fighter he had achieved distinction in different spheres. He is no more with us. But his contributions in the field of social work and anthropology will be remembered for ever.

We, the staff members of the Institute deeply condole his sad demise and pray Almighty, "Let his soul rest in peace".

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